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THOUGHTS on the intended NAVIGABLE COMMUNICATION between the Friths of *Forth* and *Clyde*.

In a Letter to his Grace the Duke of QUEENSBERRY, from a Citizen of Edinburgh. *Geo. Chalmer 1799*



My LORD,

I Presume to address this letter to your Grace, as you have been a great friend and patron to every national undertaking in this part of the united kingdom, and have been so in particular to the scheme for a proper canal between the friths of Forth and Clyde. I have given a good deal of attention to what has been passing in this affair for a year past; and my occupation as a merchant has given me opportunity to consider of it in a more enlarged and extensive view than people out of trade, or who have not thought so much of it, can do; and I think it is in no degree so well or so generally understood, even yet, as its great importance deserves.

I beg leave, therefore, humbly to offer a few thoughts to the public, and your Grace, upon this great national concern; wherein I have no view whatever but the general good, and the information of such persons whose way of life, time, and opportunities, in a great measure preclude them from a proper investigation of this matter. If there be any mistakes in what I advance, they are surely not intentional; and I wish it may excite some abler hand to correct them, and to set this affair still in a juster light before the public.

The Honourable Board of Trustees for promoting Fisheries, Manufactures, and Improvements, in Scotland, have great merit with their country for the trouble they took in having the track surveyed, and a plan and estimate made for a canal, some years ago,

ago, by that able engineer Mr John Smeaton, and by making several reports upon that business to his Majesty.

The traders in Glasgow and Carron, who undertook the small canal for lighters, which made so much noise last spring, have a degree of merit also, by their being the occasion of stirring up in the public a spirit of inquiry and attention to this great object; and the noblemen and gentlemen who opposed this small canal, and who so liberally and generously subscribed large sums for the carrying on of a more extensive and beneficial communication, certainly deserve highly of their country.

What they propose, I understand, is, to carry through a canal of 7 feet depth, and at a lockage-duty of 2 d. a-ton *per* mile upon the goods or shipping that pass it: and by all I could ever learn from people of the best judgement in these matters, they cannot make a proper interest for their money at a lower toll.

This canal, I acknowledge, would be a beneficial thing to those parts of the country which lie near it, especially if the toll was more moderate. Nevertheless I flatter myself, that government will give such aid to the subscribers as will enable them to make a much better and deeper canal. And, with all due deference to high rank and superior judgement, I humbly mean to offer some reasons, tending to shew, that it is highly the interest of G. Britain and Ireland, that this communication between the two seas should be executed upon the most beneficial and liberal plan that circumstances and situation will admit; and that this may be effected from funds within Scotland itself, without imposing any new tax, and without interrupting any other plan of public utility.

This work can only be done with propriety at first; for it is not of the nature of any other work which can easily be enlarged or extended afterwards. If this canal was to be carried through of 7 feet depth at present, and extended afterwards to 10 or 12 feet deep, a very considerable part of the expence would be totally lost; and a still greater inconvenience would arise, by the entire stop of the navigation for several years, during the execution of the new works; which would be a very great loss to the shipping and trade of the kingdom, after it had been once turned into that channel. This is a circumstance which perhaps will not generally occur to people out of trade; and I intreat, that it may be ever kept in view in the consideration of this affair:
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for it will always be an argument of great weight, and perhaps irresistible, when joined to the interest private people may have against any future extension of the canal after it is once completed. Let it be remarked also, that there is neither room nor water for two canals. These reasons, I hope, may serve as an excuse for my insisting so strenuously as I mean to do, for having the work done of proper dimensions at first.

When the Board of Trustees had this matter first under their deliberation, it appears obviously, by their different reports to his Majesty, (and which were approved of by the King), that it was intended to be a free navigation, and to be the channel of conveyance between the two seas, not only of the home produce and trade of Great Britain and Ireland, but also of that of the northern parts of Europe with the west side, and of the whole trade of the colonies, especially in time of war, with the east side of the island. This appears by the reports themselves, in the following words, viz. in that at Christmas 1763 :

“ The particular advantages attending the navigation here proposed will appear perhaps more extensive and important than those of any other that has been ever undertaken in this island, as it not only facilitates the internal intercourse, and communicates the inland parts of the country with the neighbouring sea-ports, a benefit it has in common with other works of this kind, but by running quite across the country from east to west, it joins the two seas, and opens a safe conveyance, even in time of war, for the whole trade with the colonies, to all the east coast of the island, and for the whole trade of Holland, Germany, and the other northern parts of Europe, to the west side of the island, without the necessity of making a tedious, and often dangerous, circuit round either end of it.”

And after recapitulating the substance of Mr Smeaton's first plan and report, they mention the amount of the estimate to be L. 78,970 ; and say, “ This sum is very small, when compared with the great utility of the design, though far beyond the reach of the funds under the management of the Trustees. They can only, therefore, submit it to your Majesty, and beg leave humbly to recommend it to your royal consideration.”

And in the Trustees report at Christmas 1764 are the following words : “ In consequence of your Majesty's approbation of the measures pursued by us for promoting a communication between

“ tween the rivers Forth and Clyde, by a navigable canal, and
 “ the gracious expression of your Royal sentiments with regard
 “ to this design, that it would probably contribute very much to
 “ the public utility and advantage, we feel ourselves animated
 “ with uncommon zeal for the prosecution of that important
 “ work.”

It is well known, that the funds intended for the execution of this work were the forfeited estates in Scotland ; but it does not appear that the Board of Trustees were aware, that the size of the canal whereof Mr Smeaton made his first plan, by their direction, being only 5 feet deep, was far too small, and inadequate to the noble purposes they intended.

Next to a free navigation, a canal with a small toll, such as the trade to pass by it can bear, is most eligible. A sufficient depth of water is still of greater importance, and, by the dispatch it affords, with the saving of the expence and inconvenience of lighterage, and lodging of goods, will in reality prove of greater advantage to the general commerce and improvement of the kingdom, if attended even with a considerable toll, than a shallow canal would be, duty-free. This will be found an undisputed fact, upon consideration, by any person of skill in such matters.

I conclude then, that a low toll, such as the trade to pass can bear, and depth of water, are the two capital points to interest the public in this communication ; and without both of them, though it may accommodate those parts lying near the canal, it will be of little benefit to distant parts, even of Scotland, and far less to England and Ireland : for it is in proportion to these only, but particularly to the depth of water, that the two last-mentioned countries will have interest in it ; a circumstance which I could wish to be kept in view in every consideration of this affair.

If the duty be at 2 d. a-tun *per* mile lockage, it will still be of advantage to the city of Glasgow, and the other parts of the country, at both ends, and on the sides of the canal ; whose goods that are of any value can well afford to pay such a tax, by superceding the necessity, otherwise unavoidable, of a high land-carriage. But it is obvious that this duty will be far too high for goods or shipping passing through the canal, to or from distant places of Great Britain, Ireland, or foreign parts ; and in particular,

cular, it will be an absolute bar to the transportation of many bulky articles of small value, such as coals, home salt, lime, limestone, paving, building, and iron-stone, various kinds of wood and lumber, charcoal, bark, soapers ashes, kelp, slates, some species of corn, and a variety of other articles, which are essentially necessary to the commerce, manufactures, and improvements of this kingdom.

If any person doubts of the above, he may be pleased to consider, that 2 d. a-tun *per* mile toll, will, upon many of the above goods, be 20, 30, and 40 *per cent.* of the prime cost: on others, again, and which will constitute a great bulk of the navigation, it will be equal to the whole prime cost: nay, on some of them (if they pass through the whole length of the canal) it will be equal to double of the cost. I conclude then that the lockage-duty cannot possibly, with a view to general utility, exceed 1 d. a tun *per* mile at most, unless it were thought proper to make it higher upon certain species of goods, of considerable value and small bulk.

The circumstances of this affair are greatly altered in favour of deep water since Mr Smeaton's second report and plan, made last autumn, were published. He has given three estimates; one for a canal of 7 feet deep, amounting to L. 147,000; one for 8½ feet deep, amounting to L. 198,000; and one for 10 feet deep, amounting to L. 293,000.

Before that publication, it was very doubtful, 1st, Whether a sufficiency of water could be collected at the summit, or point of partition, for a greater depth than 7 or 8 feet; and, 2^{dly}, Whether it was practicable to carry the canal so as to enter in deeper water than 7 or 8 feet in Clyde. Mr Smeaton, by his last survey and plan, made upon the supposition of 100,000 tuns of goods to pass annually, has shewn, that water for ten times that quantity of goods can be collected at the summit or point of partition, in case the trade should ever require it: And he has also shewn, that the canal can be extended to enter the Clyde at a place where there is constantly 14 to 15 feet water, and that for a very moderate expence when compared with the object. His words, as to water, p. 13. of the Report, follow: "In short, was ten times as much
" water necessary for the canal as what appears to be so, there is
" the evident means of bringing it, and amassing it, without putting any strain upon nature. I therefore beg leave once more
" to repeat a passage, p. 16. of my former Report. "It does not
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“ admit of a doubt, but that Nature has furnished a practicability of bringing as much water to the point of partition as can possibly be wanted, and that by means sufficiently simple and easy :” And again, “ so that there is all possible certainty that the canal will be amply supplied from end to end.”

Mr Smeaton indeed has not specified the particular depth of water in Clyde ; but Mr Mackell, the other engineer, founded it, and found 14 to 15 feet at the intended place of entry ; and the water increases the further down the frith. This is confirmed by the accurate surveys made by order of the magistrates of Glasgow, which are printed and published.

These circumstances afford the highest encouragement for having the work executed in the most proper and extensive manner. It may be added, that the Forth is the noblest and safest inlet for shipping perhaps in Europe. The Clyde is also very commodious. The situation for a harbour at the east end of the canal, as described by Mr Smeaton, is remarkably commodious, for depth of water, and ease of access. That at the west end would also be very safe and convenient, being sheltered from the sea, and the westerly winds, which alone are hurtful in that frith, by the castle and rising grounds at Dumbarton. The whole track, excepting a few miles of uneven ground, seems, to use an expression of Mr Smeaton's, as if formed by Nature for a proper communication between the two seas ; and the canal can be carried through also, without joining in its internal track with any river or large stream of water, which are very dangerous to such navigations.

Upon this occasion I cannot help mentioning the extreme impropriety of comparing this communication, upon its present footing, with any inland navigation in England ; the circumstances and the object of them being in a great measure different. — The navigations in England serve very good and useful purposes, in common with this, for the accommodation of the trade, manufactures, and agriculture, of the particular districts through which they pass. But Nature has made it impossible for any of them ever to answer the purpose of a general communication between the two seas ; or, consequently, to be any object for Great Britain and Ireland in general. There is not a place in the island, south of the track in question, where the distance between navigable tides of equal depth would not be five or six times at least

least that of ours. The perpendicular height would also be double; and there are no such safe or proper accesses with the sea. — It seems therefore unnecessary to enter any further into the comparison.

If the communication between the Forth and Clyde is executed at 10 feet deep, it would be of the highest advantage to the whole nation, particularly to South Britain; and it is asserted, that in such event, the city of London alone, notwithstanding its distance, will bring or send more value of goods through it than all Scotland together, especially in time of war. I think it also highly probable, that England and Ireland together will, in general, carry three times the value of goods by this conveyance that Scotland will do: so it is equally an improper thing to consider this affair as a Scotch one; it being in truth as much a general navigation for South Britain and Ireland as it is for North Britain. Those who doubt of the interest which England and Ireland have in this navigation, by reason of their distance, may consider, that the people living near, or on the side of a bridge, road, or sea-passage, have often less interest in them than those living at a distance: — Just as London and Amsterdam have a hundred times the interest in the passage between Calais and Dover, or between Gibraltar and Ceuta, than those places situated on the sides of them have.

If the canal is only 7 feet deep, the advantages to general trade will be very inconsiderable; for no vessels above 6, or $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet draught of water, can pass such canal.

There are very few in the northern parts of the island, even in the coasting-trade, of so small a draught. The common run of the coasting-vessels in the frith of Forth, of 50 and 60 tons burden, draw 8 feet water and upwards, when loaded.

The constructing of new ones would be attended with great expence; and, after all, such a canal can only answer the purposes of the country near to it, and that but partially. It will never answer any great national purpose which would be obtained by a greater depth of water. They must have little experience in trade, who imagine, that the lighterage of goods at either end, and reshipping at the other, will supply this defect; especially if the goods require to be entered for duties or securities to be given at a distance from the owner's place of residence.

True it is, that small vessels of 40 or 50 tons may be constructed

ed to draw but 6 or 6½ feet water; and they may fail with difficulty to any distance to which they can carry water and provisions, even to America, or to the East Indies. But to what end will they go? Not surely to any good purpose of commerce, but only as advice-boats.

If the canal is 10 feet deep, a great part of the trade from the continent of Europe, with the west of Britain and Ireland, may pass it; so will much of the trade between the city of London and these parts; and particularly, of the great linen-trade from Ireland, and the rich manufactures, and other goods of London, in return.

The herring and other fisheries on the west side of Scotland employ a very large number of hands, and vessels; no less than 267 busses, according to my information, have been cleared at the different customhouses on the west side of Scotland this winter, for herrings alone, besides what may be from other parts. These vessels, as I am informed, generally draw about 9 feet water or upwards, when loaded; consequently they cannot pass a canal of 7 feet deep: the people on the east side of the island would therefore still be cut off from these valuable fisheries by busses, because of the great distance of sailing round by the Orkneys. The fishing-season happens also generally so late in the year, that the passage that way is impracticable.

But if the canal is made of proper depth, the traders in the head of the frith of Forth will be little more than a day's sailing from the fishing rendezvous of Campbelton. If the small neck of land at or near Tarbat, which will be spoke further of afterwards, is also made navigable, they may be on the fishing banks or lochs in two or three days from their own home, instead of having a dangerous navigation, of several weeks at least, in general, by the Orkneys, if they were to attempt this in the beginning of autumn, and wait till the fishing season came on.

If there is deep water, then that valuable branch of the fisheries will be open to all the east coast, and we might expect to see busses there from Yarmouth, and other parts of England. When the fisheries again should, as has happened in former times, be most plentiful upon the east side of the island, it will be open to those who reside on the west side, to the great general advantage of the kingdom, and the increase of our stock of seamen; and it may be observed, that these fisheries are frequently much larger,
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on each side of the island, than the particular hands, stocks, or vessels, belonging to either separately, can manage; which will not probably be the case when a proper communication is made.

The valuable trade with the west side of Great Britain and Ireland, and particularly that with the colonies, cannot be carried on but with great disadvantage by those who live on the east side of the island, especially in the middle parts; by reason of the great distance, difficulty, and expence, of the navigation round either end of it; and the hazard from enemies in time of war. These trades, even at present, are carried on by vessels, many of which are under 10 feet draught of water, and the number of such vessels may be increased.

But as the law stands, rum and spirits cannot be imported from the colonies, in vessels under 70 tuns burden, nor in casks, under 60 gallons; and it cannot be exported, but to a few places in vessels under 100 tuns, nor in casks under 100 gallons; and the method very properly established for admeasurement is such, that ordinary vessels to answer it, will carry 15 or 20 *per cent.* more of tunnage, dead weight. No man will believe, that vessels of that burden, and to draw but $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet water, will trade to the West Indies, at least with advantage. Thus the whole east side of the island would be deprived of this great branch of commerce, if the depth is only 7 feet. Tobacco also can be exported only in large hogsheads, and in vessels of 70 tuns by the same measurement; so that little or any of the great quantities of that article exported from Clyde to the northern parts of the continent, could pass the canal. It may be noticed further, that small vessels drawing $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet water, supposing them constructed to answer the burthen, would be very improper for stowing such large casks of rum or tobacco.—If the canal then is made of 10 or more feet depth, instead of 7, what an amazing advantage may it prove, by the saving to this nation of freight and insurance? which last article will be further spoke to afterwards.

Let no person here entertain so local, so mean, or so illiberal an idea, as to suppose that the branches of trade, which are carried on at particular places upon one side of the island, would, by this means only, run the hazard of being transferred to other places on the opposite side.—True it is, that various parts may suffer in some of the branches of trade they now enjoy: For ex-

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ample, Leith, Borrowstounness, and Carron, may be deprived of the carriage of part of the English and continental goods, which they bring at present for Glasgow, and other places on the west side; as the people there, will, no doubt, bring them directly in their own bottoms.—The western ports, on the other hand, may be deprived of the benefit of the conveyance of part of the goods from America, Ireland, or the west of England, for the consumption of the east coast.—But what are these particular local inconveniencies to the public? The general advantage of Great Britain and Ireland is the object; and whatever temporary inconveniencies may arise to particular places, the public in general must have great benefit.

Further it is maintained, that there is no particular place which can suffer in the manner above mentioned, in the trade she now possesses, but will have the way paved for applying to other branches with equal advantage, by means of this communication. The fisheries also, and the trade to the colonies, which, by their daily extension and increase, enlarges every day, without mentioning any others, are fields sufficient for all the places or districts in the above situation on both sides of the island, without any danger of being overstocked. The people employed in transporting goods by land at present, between the two friths, will be most immediately and sensibly affected by the intended change; and their case would be remarkably hard, if it were not obvious, that they can, with great facility, and equal advantage, turn their hands to lighterage, tracking of vessels, and the like business, through the canal.

I am well informed, that the premiums of insurance, during the two last wars, between London and the American colonies in the continent and islands, were generally double of what they were between these colonies and Clyde.

The premium, again, between the frith of Forth and London, was but $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. with convoys, which are very frequent and regular; and if the American insurances with London be reckoned 16 per cent. at an average, there will be a saving of 6 per cent. on these premiums; and it may be more to the English ports lying north of London. The premiums from Ireland and the west side of Great Britain, round the Channel, and, *vice versa*, from the east side of them, will be much more lowered. For example,

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A linen-ship from Belfast, or Londonderry, to London, or from London, with a variety of valuable goods, to these ports, may be insured by the one course at 2 to 3 *per cent.* premium, while the other will cost 10 or 12 *per cent.* and frequently much higher, besides performing the voyage in less time by a navigation near one third shorter. The premiums from the west side of the island, and Ireland, with the northern parts of Europe, and *vice versa*, will be lowered nearly in the same proportion. It will also be a great advantage to the east side of the island, in the insurance of their trade in time of war with the southern parts of Europe. It may be observed likewise, that where insurance is lowered, the freights will be so in some degree, especially where the distance is also shortened; and both will tend greatly to the advantage of our trade and manufactures, and to give us a better chance in competition with foreign rivals.

It will be evident, from what is above said, to any person who knows the immense value of the trade which may be carried on through this channel, that a very large sum annually, on premiums and freights, must be saved to these kingdoms, especially if the passage is made of proper depth.

It will be obvious also, what service or protection we might afford to our friends or allies, in times of war, by this communication, and what a sum might be drawn to the nation by a moderate toll from them; and that it will not only be a great convenience in times of war with France and Spain, but also with any of the northern powers of Europe, although the trade carried on by the Orkneys passage is in no degree to be compared with what passes by the Channel.

I have been informed by persons of high rank in his Majesty's navy, that if this communication is made of proper dimensions, a very great number of cruisers may be saved in the time of a war with France or Spain, and the trade would be better protected than at present. This is an object of no small consideration. Great Britain can now by her superiority at sea, and I hope will always be able, to protect her trade; but in the common vicissitude of human affairs, it may happen, that through cross accidents, divisions, unsteadiness, or inattention at home, or by the superior steadiness, address, or good fortune of foreign administrations, the case may be altered, and in particular times we may be hard put to it for a sufficient number of vessels to protect our trade.

trade. In such a situation, what an inconceivable advantage might not such a communication between the two seas prove of to this nation and its allies ?

I am aware that it may be said, that the enemies privateers will infest the mouths of the two friths more when they find a greater resort of shipping to them. To be sure they will do so: but let it be remembered, how easy it is to guard these mouths; how difficult it will be for our enemies to carry the prizes they may make at such a distance from their own coasts; and how small a risk our vessels will have by that passage, in comparison with running the gauntlet for 100 or 130 leagues along the enemies coast through the Channel. It may perhaps also be said, that regular convoys are generally appointed for the trade that passes by the Channel; but it will be noticed, that convoys are not always ready, nor can they be to or from every port. Further, it is well known, that waiting for convoys is too frequently, both to the merchant and owner of the ship, a remedy equal to or worse than the disease.

In regard to internal police, it is obvious how much it may tend to the improvement of our lands, to the creation or extension of trades and manufactures, which at present either do not exist, or languish by the great distance between the places of the production of the raw materials, and those that are properly situated for working them up, or for their consumption.

The keeping of the great article of corn at a mean or moderate price, is justly a great object of the legislature.

A proper communication established between the two seas would tend greatly to this valuable end, and more, I do maintain, than any measure whatever that will be devised, other than the capital one of increasing the quantities grown.

I have some experience in this branch, and say further, that it will in some degree encourage an additional growth, because corn will be conveyed with much more facility, and in many cases at less than half the expence of what it presently is between the places of growth and those of consumption; which, in so far as the quantities go, will be like a bounty on home consumption.

The countries on the west side of the island are known to depend upon those on the east (even in times of plenty) for part of their subsistence; and it will be found, that upon any failure of the crops, the prices begin to grow high first on the west side, and
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which, once begun, naturely spreads over the kingdom. This is often occasioned by the great expence and difficulty of navigation by either ends of the island, particularly in the winter-season, or even early in the spring, in so much that various parts of the west coast are often upon the point of starving before supplies in the spring can reach them. If the communication in question is made of proper dimensions, its effects will be obvious to every person; as vessels can pass in much shorter time, at lower freights and insurance, and at all times of the year, if the canal is not froze up, which will seldom happen for any continuance in a track so short between the tides.

The facility it will give to the transportation of corn from the continent to the west coast and Ireland, or, *vice versa*, from America or Ireland, for the supply of the east coast, when such importations are necessary, will be great also, and both be much heightened in time of war. In short, in regard to this capital article of corn, it will, in some measure, be like removing an obstruction in the circulation of the blood, and giving it a free passage into all parts of the body.

If any person should think, that this great object can be obtained by making a passage for vessels drawing 6 or 6½ feet water, he certainly does not understand trade, or has not considered it fully. Such a communication may indeed be very useful between the countries or ports immediately joining the ends of the canal, but will never answer any general national purpose; especially in the winter-season. For it will obviously never answer the purposes of importation either from east or west; nor can it be supposed to do so for vessels loading, for example, at the great corn-ports of Yarmouth, Lynn, Hull, Stockton, or Alemouth, for the west side of the island, or Ireland.

In time of tumults or insurrections, if such should be on the west side of Great Britain or Ireland, or of piratical incursions or invasions, the facility that such a communication will give in the transportation of artillery, stores, or even troops, from either side of the island to the other, and in the supplying of shipping, forts, camps, or garrisons, will obviously be great; and the strength of the kingdom, by its being rendered more compact, and, as it were, contracted within a narrower circle, will be increased. Its riches must also be equally increased by the greater facility, and

smaller expence, with which every production, manufacture, or commodity, will be conveyed from one part of the kingdom to another.

If it is objected, That the execution of such a canal would require too long a time; this objection will operate equally against every great public work, which must of necessity take up time. The same argument would have prevented our ever building a large man of war. The bridges over the Thames, or that over the North Loch here, would have been built of wood, and only of 20 feet wide, according to this doctrine, that we might have had the use of them sooner; and it would be a reason for planting willows in place of oaks, because of the difference in the time of growth.

But further, I beg leave to mention, that the great canal of Languedoc was executed in about fifteen years, though it met with frequent interruptions. It may be added, that during eight years of this period, France was engaged in a heavy war with the greatest part of Europe, and her hands so scarce, that she was forced, in the year 1675, to call out the *Arrier Ban* (a thing very uncommon) to oppose her enemies. The execution of such works with dispatch, is certainly known better now than it was in that period; and a British man can, I presume, plan as well, and execute as much, as a Frenchman.

The distance and perpendicular height was above four times that of ours, and the number of locks, sluices, bridges, &c. would be in proportion. The ground was more uneven, and in general far more rocky, and difficult to work; hills in some places were to be vaulted through for a great length; and above all, there was far more difficulty in collecting water at the point of partition, and in fencing against rivers.

Why then should we doubt of seeing the communication in question executed within five or six years, if it be set about with spirit and steadiness? It is no answer to say, That France could command a greater number of hands than Britain; for a large number are not necessary. Two or three thousand good hands will probably finish the deepest plan within that time; and there will be little difficulty in collecting these, or a greater number.

Some may object, That it would increase the wages of labouring people in Scotland, by occasioning a scarcity of hands, which would be a loss to the country. But this also proves too much,

much, and will be a reason against every great work. I say further, in the *first* place, It is not certain that wages will be raised; as great numbers of people may be drawn, for the digging work, from the highlands, islands, and other parts of the country, where they are at present idle and unemployed; and this will be an advantage to the country, by training up so many hands to useful labour, and making them plentiful after this work is finished. It may also prevent improper migrations to other countries.—*2dly*, Supposing the wages were to be raised, I am inclined to think the labouring people of Scotland in general have rather too low wages. If they were higher, they would feed and clothe better, and consequently do more work: And it will be found from experience, that the lowest wages do not in general produce the cheapest work. Further, they are all members of the community as well as other people; what they earn is generally spent on our home productions only, and the value goes immediately back to the manufacturer, farmer, or landholder.

If such advance was to take place, it ought the less to be grudged at present, when the price of provisions, which makes so very great a proportion of a labourer's expence of living above what it is to other ranks of people, are so uncommonly high.

Some may say, That there is no precedent in any other part of the world for canals of this depth: That it will be impracticable for sea-vessels, or other than sloops, to pass through locks and draw-bridges: That large vessels cannot be drawn by horses in high winds; and that the inequality of the ground is an insuperable obstacle.

To these I answer, That the royal canal in China, according to the informations from that country, is in general about 9 feet deep, and, with branches, is 1800 miles long. The ground there may be generally flat, but it cannot in such a track be all so; and it cannot well in any place be flatter than 25 or 30 miles of this track is: And it will be strange if Great Britain cannot make a passage through 5 or 6 miles of ground, uneven indeed, but not remarkably so. Sea-vessels of considerable burden, and with two and three masts, pass the Dutch canals in Holland and Zealand, through many sluices or locks, and numerous draw-bridges, particularly between Rotterdam and Amsterdam; and vessels of the greatest size can pass in the same way, perhaps more easily than they can in a narrow, crooked river, if there be only proper depth and width. East-Indiamen are dragged through

through the canal at Middleburgh by horses. Large vessels of some hundred tuns are conveyed in the same manner against the stream in our own rivers; and abroad, especially on the Rhine, vessels of as great burden as our Indiamen, are towed up by horses against the stream. Large English colliers go from Ostend to Bruges in the canal, and, I believe, some of them from thence to Ghent. The canal to this last place passes through some very uneven ground, and it has a number of locks; but of what size the vessels are which pass it, I am not at present informed.

Every gate upon a wet or dry dock is in effect a lock; these even our large men of war enter; and a vessel that passes one lock, can with time pass fifty. Further, as I before said, of about 35 miles between the two friths, supposing the largest track taken, Nature has been so beneficent, that about 25 or 30 miles of it is nearly on a dead level; or perhaps as flat as in China or Holland. The use of locks is to correct, and come in aid of the inequality of ground; and every lock makes a level to the next one in effect. So that in reality, if a sufficient quantity of water can only be got to a point of partition, for a reasonable expence, as in the present case, there is little difficulty in ascending any height of ground; far less in the small rise now in question.

There may no doubt, at times, be such storms of wind, when, in the best harbour in Britain, a vessel cannot be unmoored even to wind her; and at such times all navigation, whether in canals or elsewhere, must stop: but in ordinary weather there can be no stop; and it will be obvious, that if a cross or brisk gale should retard a large vessel in passing the one way, it must facilitate or quicken the passage, in the same degree, of another, from the opposite side of the country.

If it is still said, That there is no proper precedent in any other country for sea-vessels passing canals; I say, There is no place in this part of the world, where the advantage would be so great by such a communication, otherwise they would have been more general before now. Further, this great nation (though yet behind some others in regard to inland navigations) has given many important precedents to the rest of the world in other matters. It is for her interest, and for her honour, to set a precedent in this case, if there be none elsewhere; and she has the means of executing it easily.

The

The forfeited estates in Scotland, now in the hands of the crown, was the fund intended for the execution of this work, as already mentioned. The gross rent of these annexed to the crown, (exclusive of woods), may be about L. 8500 *per ann.*; and that of those unannexed, under the management of the court of exchequer, about L. 1500. If these estates were sold at the present rates which lands in their respective neighbourhoods give, there would, no doubt, be an ample fund for making the canal of the highest dimensions, free of toll, and a considerable reversion besides. But it does not appear, that an annual sum can be afforded out of them, as a fund for borrowing money upon, equal to this undertaking, or even to aid it properly; and it would be an unprofitable method to borrow upon them, as probably they do not yield clear above 2 or perhaps $1\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* of the sums they would sell for.

The act for annexing these estates to the crown, was planned by a wise and great patriot, for noble and valuable purposes. — It becomes not me to say, how far it would be proper to alienate such of those estates as are situated in the proper highland uncivilized country. Many people believe, it would be more proper to add to them those estates above mentioned, which are alike situated, and not yet annexed.

But there are certain parts of those forfeited estates, particularly of that of Perth, situated in the low country, where, according to my information, the people are as much civilized as in Mid Lothian or Middlesex.

There surely can lie little, I will say, no objection whatever, to a sale of such parts, and to the applying of the produce to the making of the canal, if it be shewn further, (as I mean to do), that no measure whatever can tend so essentially, so radically, or so permanently, to the wise and valuable purposes of the annexation-act itself, as the making of this communication.

The great distance from the civilized trading parts of Scotland, and the almost insuperable difficulties of access, are the chief, perhaps the only causes, of the long unpolished rude state of the west highlands and islands. Every one knows they are inaccessible from the east side by land for any purposes of trade or improvement; and the communication by sea from the frith of Forth by the Orkneys, is not only about 500 English miles distant from

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Fort-William, which I reckon the centre of that country, but also impracticable in winter.

If the intended canal is made, Fort-William, for example, will be drawn immediately 200 miles nearer by water to Edinburgh, and will be accessible at all times of the year. The small neck of land near Tarbot, or rather at Loch Crinan, where the peninsula of Kintyre joins the main land of Argyle, can be made navigable, according to my information from persons of skill, who have inspected and surveyed it with that view, for a very few thousand pounds.

If this also is done, these highlands and islands will be brought about 150 miles nearer by water to the loyal and large trading city of Glasgow, and the neighbouring civilized country, and they will be drawn above 300 miles nearer to Edinburgh, and the south-east parts of Britain. I pretend not to a minute accuracy in these distances, nor is it material. Any person who pleases to look at a map may satisfy himself.

It will be obvious what amazing influence this ease of communication will in time effect, by uniting these parts in some measure with the civilized country; by promoting fisheries, manufactures, and industry, among them; giving the inhabitants thereby the means of being constantly and usefully employed; and banishing idleness, the great source of vice, and disloyalty in proportion.

I beg leave upon this head just shortly to hint a subsidiary aid to the communication with the highlands and islands by land. The posts take at present twelve days during summer, in going and coming, between Glasgow and Fort-William, and ten days between Edinburgh and that place, by making a strange circuit of about 400 miles round by Aberdeen, Banff, and Inverness. They may pass into the heart of the highlands directly by Stirling, which is distant only 63 miles of made road from Fort-William, and be distributed properly from thence with the neighbouring country and islands. The returns may then be in three or four days with Edinburgh and Glasgow, and in proportion with London; and the expence, if any, will not be worth mentioning.

Posts cannot pass too frequently or too quickly with a country that wants to be civilized and improved. The effects of them will be much greater in a short time than people are aware of, for the promoting of order, commerce, and industry, in such a tract,

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as well as of intelligence civil and military; and I am inclined to think, that such an establishment, when joined to the great means of the canal, will contribute more to the wise purposes of the annexation-act in ten years, than all the produce of the forfeited estates, as we have seen them hitherto laid out, will do in a century.

No reflection whatever is here meant upon the Honourable Board of Trustees, who, it is not doubted, have acted as well as circumstances and the nature of their constitution could admit.

If any doubt of the efficacy of the measures above mentioned, I beg they would be pleased to consider, that the making of such communications operates steadily and permanently, without any interruption, or ever sleeping: and not like the wisest laws; the effects of which, though framed with the highest foresight of human wisdom, depend almost totally upon a proper and steady execution, which is perhaps not to be expected, at least for any continuance, in the nature of our constitution.

Some may object to the sale of these low-country estates, because the Trustees have been making some efforts to promote a better species of husbandry in that part of the country than formerly.

This is a very right measure; but surely it is well known, that such examples in husbandry, at least equally good, are making by various private proprietors, as well as lessees, in different parts of Scotland; and that if these estates are parcelled out to small proprietors, the improvements in husbandry have a greater chance of being carried on with more spirit and steadiness, and to a greater degree of perfection, than they can well be under the direction of a numerous fluctuating board, residing at a distance; not to mention, that the Trustees may still promote the same examples of husbandry in other parts of the country, which will be equal to the public.

If a part of the Perth estate is sold, and L. 50,000 of the price is given to the subscribers for the canal, they will, I presume, be able to execute it at 7 feet deep, and at no more than 1 d. a-tun *per* mile lockage. If they have L. 70,000, they may be able to do it at 8½ feet deep, and the same toll. If they were to get L. 100,000, they will be able to make it 10 feet deep, at no higher lockage than 1 d. *per* tun, and probably with more profit also to themselves than by any of the other sizes. For there does

not seem the same necessity for 10 feet deep upon the side cut to Glasgow; and many, from their knowledge of the rates of labour in Scotland, are of opinion, that certain parts of this last estimate may be executed cheaper than they are rated at by Mr Smeaton, especially the digging at 6 d. *per* cubic yard; upon which there is added also 20 *per cent.* for contingencies.

It is a mistaken notion, that additional depth will increase the expence in any greater degree than the measure of the quantity of work to be done: for unless some very unforeseen difficulties should occur, it will be otherwise; and the *extra* rate *per* yard for digging 2 or 3 feet deeper will be more than balanced by other savings. The expences of the act of parliament, the surveys, the charge of valuations by juries, superintendency, and expences of management afterwards, the collecting of the tolls, the attendance upon locks and bridges, the quantity of land for flops, towing-paths, and turning-places, and the making of them, the purchases of water, the dams for reservoirs, and the harbours and quays at each end of the canal, will be nearly the same in a small as in a large one.

The numbers of wharfs, locks, bridges, tunnels, &c. will be the same, and the expence will not be greatly increased: at least, on the whole, it will be in no degree so, in proportion to the *extra* quantity of tunnage that will arise from deep water. For it will be found, as already mentioned, when examined to the bottom, that even 2 d. a-tun *per* mile lockage will not be any wise equal to the inconvenience of lightering or unloading goods, nor of course so great a bar to the increase of the tunnage. It may be noticed also, that a less quantity of water will be expended in carrying the same quantity of tunnage in large vessels, than by carrying it in small ones; because the smallest vessel will expend a lockful of water in passing, and the largest will take no more.

If any one doubts of what is above said, regarding the proportion of expence between deep and shallow water, I can answer, That it is the opinion of persons well skilled in the nature of such works, and even of Mr Smeaton himself, as appears by a letter of his, published during the dispute last spring, about the small Glasgow canal; and his opinion ought to be decisive in this question.

I conclude, then, that it will be for the interest even of the subscribers to make the communication of a proper depth; and very probably such will be the condition of their obtaining public aid.

To this there can seem no reasonable objection, if it were also a condition with them, that regular accounts should be kept of the undertaking, and that the profits, if they exceed $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. should either go to a further lowering of the toll, for the benefit of the public, or to the purposes of the annexation-act; and further, that the whole should, at any time, be subject to redemption by parliament, upon making good interest, at the rate of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, to the proprietors for the time their money may have been laid out.

If it be objected still, That the present neat income of the forfeited estates should be kept up full and inviolated, for the purposes of the annexation-act:

I answer, That by annexing the estates above mentioned, which are now under the management of the court of exchequer, and by the improvement of the rents of the whole that lie on the west coast, which will undoubtedly happen by means of the above communications, and a proper management, the fund will remain nearly the same; nay it will probably be increased greatly above what it is at present.

BUT the more one thinks, my Lord, on this subject of the communication between the two seas, the more it appears to be an object too great perhaps to be trusted in the hands even of any set of proprietors, and proper to be in the hands only of government itself.

If this is the case, the communication will perhaps be carried through at as great depth as the entry into Clyde will permit, if the engineer thinks that practicable. By this means cutters, ordnance-sloops, transports, and occasionally also sloops of war, and possibly small frigates, by lightening their guns, might pass between the two seas, the advantages of which to the public service will be obvious; the large ships in the American and other trades would then pass; and if in after times part of the East-India trade should be carried on in smaller bottoms than at present, the passage would be open for it likewise. — Perhaps also little or no toll may be taken, or but as much as will be

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sufficient

sufficient for management and repairs, at least on British vessels, though there might be a duty on foreigners.

If all the low-country forfeited estates were sold, and the price applied to the canal, and if the whole of the rest were annexed, and continued under the management of the same trustees, but the produce to be a fund for raising money upon, to be applied in the same way, it would go a great length.

The legislature of Ireland also, so constant and generous in promoting every national undertaking, would no doubt contribute to this one, upon a proper application, as it would be of so much advantage to that kingdom. By these means there might be fund enough to carry through the greatest depth, and at no higher lockage than a halfpenny a-ton on our own vessels. The making of the canal and the toll might be under the management of the same trustees, with some others joined to them, to fit *de die in diem*, as the boards of excise and customs do, and to be accountable annually to the board of treasury, or in exchequer, as these boards are. The surplus of the toll might be applied to the purposes of the annexation-act, or to the lowering of it further, on British vessels, as might be thought proper.

Other better modes of applying these estates to this canal, may perhaps be devised. But if it should be thought improper to apply them in that manner at all, or if funds are still wanting, I scruple not to say, that no work has occurred, of a great while past, for the execution of which we might more justly burden our posterity with a small tax.

The bridges over the Thames are noble and useful national works; so is the present. I mean no comparison; but the method of raising the funds, by lotteries, or otherwise, and the manner of execution, may not improperly, in case of need, be applied to this work, as well as to them. Every circumstance of situation, and the great advantages that will arise from a proper execution of this work, do, as before said, excite and encourage us to carry it through, of the greatest dimensions that the water and other circumstances will admit.

I beg leave to add two other considerations of some importance. We are happily in profound peace with all the world, and hands in general, and even some of the soldiery, if it was necessary, can more easily be spared at present for such an undertaking, than at another season.

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We have an engineer also, in the prime of life, at present, able to conduct a work of this magnitude properly, (I mean Mr Smeaton); who is said, by people of skill, to be perhaps the ablest man, at this time in Europe, for conducting a work of this nature; and it will be wise to avail ourselves, while we can, of his abilities.

If the expence should be reckoned even at half a million, for a round sum, to make the passage of proper depth, the interest of this, if borrowed by the public at 3 *per cent.* is but L. 15,000, and a toll of 1 d. a-tun, upon 100,000 tuns of goods, call it for forty miles, including the Glasgow side-branch, is near L. 17,000. But in all probability this quantity will be doubled, in a short course of years, if the passage is made of full depth; so that one halfpenny a-tun might go near to answer the interest.

Let it be also considered, that the expending of such a sum of money within the kingdom is no wise similar to the giving of it in foreign subsidies, or in making of foreign expeditions or conquests: for the whole sum will circulate at home; almost every material, even to the iron work, will be of our own produce; and it will occasion a considerable increase on the revenues of customs, excises, &c. by the creation of new trades and manufactures, and by the advantages it will give to those which now exist. It may be also noticed, that the advantages it will bring us will be permanent, and cannot be taken away from us by our enemies or rivals in trade, as a conquest, or a particular species of trade or manufacture, might be.

Upon the whole, it would seem no difficult thing to prove, that if half a million, or even a larger sum, was sunk in making this a proper and free communication, there might be as much, and perhaps a great deal more, fully gained to these nations, in one single year of a general war, by the advantages it would give to our trade, manufactures, and agriculture, by the increase of revenue, by the saving of the charge of a number of cruisers, and by the addition of strength and security it would give to this kingdom and its allies.

That I may be thought to speak here within bounds, let it be noticed, for one article, that the value, in time of war, of the foreign and home trade of the port of London alone, outward and inward, which passes through the Channel, and including the value of the shipping which carries it, and falls to be insured twice, and
sometimes

sometimes oftener, in a year, cannot be computed much under fifteen millions *per annum*, exclusive of the East-India trade *.

It is not material to the argument though this calculation be over-rated: for 5 *per cent.* saved upon the insurance of one third of the sum, would be L. 250,000; and it will be easy to conceive from thence what the *whole* advantages, of various kinds, to Great Britain and Ireland in general, when collected, may amount to.

Suffer me then, once more, to mention what should be ever kept in view in the consideration of this affair, That England is interested in this canal, only in proportion to the lowness of the toll, and the depth of water, but especially the last. If the passage is made deep enough, it will be of the most capital importance to her interests, perhaps ten times more so than it will be of to Scotland, because there is no comparison in the value of their trade. Further, whatever benefit Scotland may receive, it will in some degree return to England, by enabling the former to pay a greater share of the public taxes, which no country can do without the means. I will add an agreeable and uncommon circumstance, That this advantage to England may be obtained, either in whole or in part, by means of what may be termed at present a Scotch fund, without any new burden on herself.

THE first senator of ancient Rome, my Lord, in the most flourishing times of the republic, would have thought it the highest honour to have had the patronage and superintendence of a work of this kind. The Romans, the wisest people on record, and famous for the great utility and capacity of their public works, if they had been in our situation, would certainly have executed this work in such a manner as would have fully answered the ends proposed, and suitable to the dignity of the state.

* The quantity of sugar may probably increase; and, according to my information, it is at present 100,000 hds; which, at L. 20 each, is	L. 2,000,000	0	0
The colonies are much in our debt, so it is reasonable to suppose, that at least an equal value in goods goes out,	-	-	- 2,000,000
90,000 tuns of shipping for carrying the above sugar, reckoned double, as they must be twice insured, at L. 7 per tun, amounts to	-	-	1,260,000
			L. 5,260,000

From this single article it may be judged what the collected value of the other foreign exports, imports, and shipping, may be, when joined to the great trade with the west side of the island, and Ireland.

The

The great soul of Julius Cæsar projected various works of this kind for the safety and convenience of the empire; one in particular, of a very similar nature to this, over the isthmus of Corinth, to join the Ionian and Egean seas, and to avoid the long and dangerous navigation round Peloponesus. This work he certainly intended, not for the benefit of Greece, or the country near the isthmus, but for that of Rome, though it was 7 or 800 miles distant from that city, in order to facilitate her communication with the eastern provinces, and much as the present passage would facilitate the communication between London and the distant parts of the British empire.

I will not mention the honour acquired by a Czar Peter, a Lewis XIV. or a Colbert, by undertakings of this sort; but will beg leave to mention names still more venerable in this country, and whose examples, especially in regard to œconomy, are generally quoted, as worthy of the imitation of those who have the government of states; I mean Henry IV. of France, and his first minister Sully.

This King, one of the greatest and best of modern times, considered *the augmentation and security of commerce as of the first importance to the state**, and delighted himself in public works tending to that end: he sat frequently in consultation with his ministers, about the canal of Briare to join the rivers Seine and Loire, and laid out a considerable sum of public money upon the undertaking, though no prince was more saving of his revenues; and the object was in no degree to be compared with that now in question.

The minister Sully considered such communications as *the infallible means* † (I use his own words) of drawing great commerce to a country without much expence: and though, no doubt, sufficiently occupied by other weighty matters, he even went in person to accompany the engineers in their surveys for the canal of Briare, lest they should make any mistakes in taking their heights or distances.

* Translation of Sully's Memoirs, vol. 3. book 19. p. 348. Edinburgh edition, 1760.—Thuanus, lib. 132. and the contemporary historians.

† Sully's Memoirs, *ibid.* p. 339, & 348.

Under the shelter of such respectable names, I humbly presume, though a private person, to say, That this affair is highly deserving of the most serious attention of the legislature, and of administration. I flatter myself, that it may be laid again, upon its most extensive and enlarged plan, before our most gracious Sovereign, the tender Father of his people, *and the only proper patron of a work of this magnitude.*

If it is only taken into serious and full deliberation, its great utility and importance will appear so obvious, that we need not much fear of its being carried into proper execution. — His Majesty will have an opportunity, by the patronage of this great work, of transmitting his name to posterity, with equal glory and endearment as by his victories and conquests, or as any of his most illustrious predecessors have had by the splendor of their civil or martial achievements; for the true and real glory of a sovereign, or of a legislature, consists in performing such acts as the subjects can reap the most solid and lasting advantages from. — I shall conclude, with the words of Mr Pope in his epistle to Lord Burlington, regarding public works of a similar, but not so capital a nature as this :

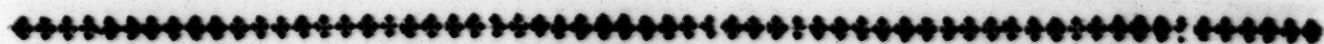
- “ Bid harbours open, public ways extend ;
- “ Bid temples, worthier of the God, ascend ;
- “ Bid the broad arch the dangerous flood contain,
- “ The mole projected break the roaring main ;
- “ Back to his bounds their subject sea command,
- “ And roll obedient rivers through the land :
- “ These honours peace to happy Britain brings ;
- “ THESE ARE IMPERIAL WORKS, AND WORTHY KINGS.”

I have the honour to be, &c.

EDINBURGH, 20th January, 1768.

P.S.

P. S. It escaped me, in the former part of this letter, to mention, that there are very large fields of coals on and near the track of this canal, especially towards the west side, where there are seams of the Newcastle kind; and the prices are lower than in any other place of the island near to navigation. If coals in the north of England should, in after times, turn scarce, or dearer, by the deepness of the pits, this may be a circumstance of very great importance to the city of London, and the south-east parts of England. But it will be obvious, that coals can afford to pay but a very small toll; and they cannot be conveyed at a moderate rate to the consumer but by large vessels.



E R R A T A.

Pag. 10. lin. ult. read, the east side to them.

Pag. 13. lin. 1. read, naturally

Pag. 16. lin. 14. read, longest track

Pag. 21. lin. 22. read, will probably soon be increased

100

